

IV. C. 7 (b)

Volume II

THE AIR WAR IN NORTH VIETNAM

#291



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IV. C. 7.(b)

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FOOTNOTES

1. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 142140Z January 1967 (TS).
2. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 182210Z January 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).
3. CINCPAC msg. to JCS and COMUSMACV, Exclusive for General Wheeler and General Westmoreland from Admiral Sharp, 030520Z January 1967 (S-EXDIS-SPECAT).
4. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 252126Z January 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).
5. CIA SC #04442/67, op. cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. See Task Force paper IV.C.3 for a detailed study of this particular effort.
12. Robert S. McNamara letter to the Honorable Richard B. Russell, United States Senate, 30 January 1967 with attached chronology of ROLLING THUNDER (TS).
13. JCSM-727-66, 22 November 1966, op. cit.
14. COMUSMACV msg. to CINCPAC 00163, 021430 January 1967.
15. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 040403Z January 1967 and JCSM-6-67, 4 January 1967.
16. JCSM-6-67, ibid.
17. State msg. to AmEmbassy, Saigon 118861, 14 January 1966.
18. Embassy Saigon msg. 15822, 17 January 1967.
19. JCSM-25-67, 18 January 1967 (TS).
20. William Bundy Memorandum to Under Secretary Katzenbach, no date ("drafted 21 Jan 67" pencilled in)(TS) with Katzenbach's initialed approval at the bottom.

21. JCS msg. to CINCPAC, and CINCSAC 4708, JCS send, 27 January 1967 (TS).
22. Ibid.
23. Leonard H. Marks, Director USIA, Memorandum for Dean Rusk, Subject: Regaining Initiative on Tet Truce, 2 February 1967 (S).
24. "SCENARIO" unsigned, undated, handwritten paper in McNaughton Book III, Tab RR.
25. Ibid.
26. "Vietnam, Search for Peace," Department of State, 1967.
27. White House Press Release, February 8, 1967.
28. State msg. 134409, Saigon for Ambassador, London for Ambassador and Cooper, February 9, 1967, 7:27 p.m. (TS-NODIS).
29. DIA Intelligence Supplement, "North Vietnamese Resupply Activity during Tet Stand-Down," 10 February 1967 (S).
30. New York Times, February 15, 1967.
31. "Vietnam, Search for Peace," op. cit.
32. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 012005Z February 1967 (TS-LIMDIS)
33. JCSM-59-67, 2 February 1967 (TS).
34. Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense, letter to Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, 21 February 1967 (TS); with a paper on escalation options attached.
35. Ibid., p. 10.
36. Ibid., p. 11.
37. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
38. Embassy Moscow msg. 3568, 19 February 1967 (TS-NODIS).
39. "Comment on DoD Analysis - Courses of Action," W.P. Bundy, 2/21/67 (TS).
40. Ibid.
41. Roger Fisher, "Future Strategy Against North Vietnam," February 21, 1967 in McNaughton Book III, Tab QQ.

42. Maxwell D. Taylor Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Possible Forms of Negotiation with Hanoi," 20 February 1967 (TS).
43. W. W. Rostow Memorandum for Secretary of State; Secretary of Defense; Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, February 21, 1967 (TS).
44. Targets listed in CM-2194-67, Memorandum for the President from Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 22 March 1967 (TS).
45. Embassy Saigon msg. 20060, 10 March 1967 (S-EXDIS).
46. Lyndon B. Johnson letter to Senator Henry M. Jackson, March 1, 1967, Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Public Information Series, released March 2, 1967.
47. "Remarks of the President at a Joint Session of the Tennessee State Legislature, March 15, 1967," White House Press release, March 15, 1967.
48. Embassy Saigon msg. 20668, 18 March 1967 (C-LIMDIS).
49. COMUSMACV msg. to CINCPAC 09101, 18 March 1967 (TS).
50. "My 'press suggestions' for SecDef in Guam, 3/21/67," in McNaughton Book III, Tab GG.
51. John T. McNaughton, ASD/ISA, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, "Two Items on Vietnam," 27 March 1967 (C).
52. CM-2194-67, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle G. Wheeler, Memorandum for the President, Subject: "ROLLING THUNDER 54 Status Report," 23 March 1967 (TS).
53. CINCPAC msg. to CINCPACFLT 080408Z April 1967 (TS).
54. CM-2249-67, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle G. Wheeler, Memorandum for the President, 19 April 1967 (TS).
55. JCSM-218-67, 20 April 1967, Appendix B, "Rationale for Additional Forces," p. 11 (TS-Sensitive).
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., Appendix A, "Concept of Operations for Southeast Asia with Respect to Vietnam," p. 1.
58. CM-2318-67, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle G. Wheeler, Memorandum to the President, Subject: "The Target System in North Vietnam," 5 May 1967 (TS).

59. Ibid.
- 59a. Ibid.
60. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0651/67, "The Status of North Vietnam's Electric Power Industry as of 25 May 1967," 26 May 1967 (S).
61. For a complete treatment of the issues and debate on the Program #5 ground force deployments see Task Force paper IV.C.6, "U.S. Ground Strategy and Force Deployments: 1965-1967" (TS-Sensitive).
62. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Acting Secretary, Memorandum to Honorable John McNaughton, Re: Vietnam, April 24, 1967 (TS-EYES ONLY).
63. Ibid.
64. Sherman Kent, Director National Estimates, Memorandum for the Honorable Robert S. McNamara, 13 April 1967 with CIA, Office of National Estimates, Memorandum TS 186015, Subject: "Communist Policy and the Next Phase in Vietnam," 12 April 1967 (TS) attached.
65. Ibid., p. 18.
66. R. W. Komer Memorandum, Subject: "Thoughts on Future Strategy in Vietnam;" 24 April 1967 (S-EYES ONLY).
67. Ibid.
68. "Notes on Discussions with the President," 27 April 1967 (TS), no indication of who took the notes.
69. Ibid.
70. Memorandum to the Under Secretary, Subject: "Thoughts on Strategy in Vietnam," May 1, 1967 (TS); the paper is not signed or is authorship otherwise indicated except by the following final note: "I am sending you copies of this, and retaining one in a totally private file. This memorandum has been seen and discussed with no one except the typist. Copies 1 through 6 - The Under Secretary, Copy 7 - Bundy file."
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. SNIE-11-11-67, "Soviet Attitudes and Intentions Toward the Vietnam War," 4 May 1967 (S).

75. McGeorge Bundy letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson, no date ("rec'd 5-4-67, 12n" in pencil) with attached "Memorandum on Vietnam Policy."
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. CM-2318-67, 5 May 1967, op. cit.
80. Roger Fisher letter to President Johnson, May 5, 1967.
81. Draft Memorandum for the President, 5 May 1967, "Proposed Bombing Program Against North Vietnam," (TS).
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Referred to in McGeorge Bundy Memorandum to Secretary McNamara, May 11, 1967..
87. W. W. Rostow Memorandum for Secretaries Rusk, Vance, Katzenbach, McNaughton and Bundy, and CIA Director Helms, Subject: "U.S. Strategy in Viet Nam," May 6, 1967 (TS-EYES ONLY ADDRESSEE).
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. WPBundy Memorandum, "Bombing Strategy Options for the Rest of 1967," (revised draft), May 8, 1967 (TS).
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.

96. CIA, "The Effect of the Bombing on North Vietnamese Thinking," May 1967 (S).
97. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0642/67, "The Current State of Morale in North Vietnam," 12 May 1967 (S).
98. CIA Intelligence Memorandum No. 0643/67, "Bomb Damage Inflicted on North Vietnam Through April 1967," 12 May 1967 (S).
99. Ibid.
100. Draft Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Future Actions in Vietnam," 19 May 1967 "(first rough draft; data and estimates have not been checked.)" (TS-SENSITIVE).
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., emphasis in original.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the President, 20 May 1967, commenting on Sen. Brooke's proposals for negotiations between the GVN and the VC and for a reconciliation program. McNamara notes that, "Brook's proposals are almost identical to those which I suggested in the Draft Memorandum submitted to you yesterday." (TS).
114. JCSM 286-67, 20 May 1967; JCSM 288-67, 20 May 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
115. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the President, 20 May 1967 transmitting JCSM-286-67 (TS).

116. Ibid.
117. CM-2377-67, Memorandum for the SecDef, "Alternative Courses of Action," 24 May 1967.
118. Ibid.
119. CM-2381-67, 29 May 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
120. JCSM-307-67, 1 June 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid.
125. CIA SC No. 0646/67, 23 May 1967, "Reactions to Various US Courses of Action."
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. W. P. Bundy Memorandum, "Comments on DOD First Draft of 19 May," May 30, 1967 (TS); forwarded to Katzenbach, W. Rostow, Vance, Helms, and McNaughton on June 2, 1967.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
134. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach Memorandum for: Cyrus R. Vance, Subject: "Preliminary Comments on the DOD Draft of May 19, June 8, 1967 (S-EYES ONLY).
135. Ibid.
136. Memorandum for the CJCS, DCI, SecNav, and SecAF, 20 May 1967.

137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.
139. Letter from Richard Helms, Director of CIA to SecDef, 1 June 1967, forwarding Memorandum, "Evaluation of Alternative Programs for Bombing North Vietnam," TS-196752/67 (TS).
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid.
144. JCSM 312-67, Memorandum for the SecDef, 2 June 1967 (TS).
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Memorandum for the SecDef from the SecNav, "Alternative Bombing Programs in North Vietnam," 2 June 1967 (TS)
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Memorandum for the SecDef, "Possible Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 3 June 1967 (TS).
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, June 9, 1967 (TS).
155. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 290506Z May 1967 (TS).
156. Unsigned outline, dated "6/8/67" in pencil and preserved in McNaughton Book XIII, Tab B (S-EYES ONLY).
157. Untitled, unsigned outline in McNaughton Book XIII, Tab B dated 6/8/67 in pen (TS-EYES ONLY, "This paper to be read by McNaughton ONLY").

158. Ibid.
159. Ibid.
160. Draft Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Alternative Military Actions against North Vietnam," 6/12/67 (TS-SENSITIVE).
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid.
165. See W.P.Bundy note for Vance, et. al., 12 June 1967 (S-EYES ONLY).
166. W. P. Bundy Memorandum for the Secretary (of State), Subject: "First Full Interview with Radvanyi," June 1, 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
167. State Department INR Memorandum to the Secretary, Subject: "Prospects for Vietnam Negotiations in Next Three Months," June 15, 1967 (TS-NODIS).
168. Embassy Saigon msg. 28293, Eyes Only for the Secretary from Bunker, 17 June 1967 (TS-NODIS).
169. Ibid.
170. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 210430Z June 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).
171. Ibid.
172. Secretary of the Air Force, Harold Brown, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, July 3, 1967 (TS).
173. Ibid.
174. Ibid.
175. JCSM-382-67, 5 July 1967 (TS).
176. "Briefings Given the Secretary of Defense, Saigon, South Vietnam, July 7 and 8, 1967," abridged version prepared by OASD/SA, July 22, 1967 (TS), pp. 2-5, 12-16.
177. Ibid., pp. 129-134.
178. Ibid., p. 246.
179. JCS Fact Sheet, "ROLLING THUNDER 57," 10 August 1967.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Armed Services, "Air War Against North Vietnam," Summary Report and Hearings, August 1967.
2. JCS Fact Sheet, "ROLLING THUNDER 57," 10 August 1967.
3. Referred to in CM-2660-67, Gen. H. K. Johnson (Acting CJCS) Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 22 September 1967 (TS).
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. ASD(ISA) Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 5 March 1968, Subject: Rolling Thunder Target List and Procedures.
18. See David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory, The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam, (Random House, N.Y., 1968), pp. 218-227.
19. Background Information Relating to Southeast Asia and Vietnam, op. cit., pp. 235-236.
20. Ibid., emphasis added.
21. David Kraslow and Stuart H. Loory, The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam, (Random House Inc. N.Y., 1968), p. 227.

22. Background Information..., op. cit., p. 239.
23. New York Times, October 20, 1967.
24. Handwritten memo to "Secretary McNamara, Recommend your approval of attached message authorizing restrike against JCS target #81. McConnell", 11 September 1967, with attached briefing papers.
25. CINCPAC msg. 210028Z September 1967 (TS).
26. CINCPAC msg. 202352Z September 1967 (TS).
27. CM-2660-67, 22 September 1967 (TS).
28. Handwritten memo from "R McN" to General McConnell, 22 September 1967.
29. JCSmsg. to CINCPAC 7307, 262109Z September 1967 and Telecon 293/67, 290505Z September 1967 NOTAL (TS).
30. CM 2668-67, 28 September 1967 (TS).
31. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the President, October 4, 1967 (TS).
32. CM-2676-67, 4 October 1967 (TS).
33. CM-2679-67, 6 October 1967 (TS).
34. CINCPAC msg. 072055Z October 1967 (TS).
35. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 080726Z October 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).
36. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "NVN Bombing (Comments on Valid Targets on 10/12 List Not Yet Recommended)", 23 October 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
37. JCS msg. to CINCPAC 9674, 232212Z October 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).
38. CM-2707-68, 27 October 1968, Subject: "ROLLING THUNDER 58" (TS).
39. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "New NVN Bombing Proposal - ROLLING THUNDER 58," 31 October 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
40. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, November 6, 1967 (TS).
41. Quote from an unnamed CIA analysis in a Memorandum for Mr. Warnke by Charles W. Havens, Special Assistant to the ASD/ISA, without date but filed with materials for early November 1967 (TS).

42. Ibid.
43. JCSM-663-67, "Policies for the Conduct of Operations in Southeast Asia over the Next Four Months," 27 November 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE), with Appendix and Annexes.
44. Ibid.
45. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "NVN Bombing Proposal," 5 December 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
46. "Summary SecState and SecDef Position on 24 New Target Recommendations," 16 December 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).
47. Washington Post, 3 December 1967.
48. Letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson from 30 Congressmen, 12 October 1967.
49. Study of the Political-Military Implications in Southeast Asia of the Cessation of Aerial Bombardment and the Initiation of Negotiations (SEACABIN), SEACABIN Study Group, OJCS 22 November 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE), pp. 4-5.
50. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
51. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
52. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
53. Ibid., p. 15.
54. Ibid., p. 17.
55. JCSM 698-67, 16 December 1967 (TS).
56. IDA, JASON Division, "The Bombing of North Vietnam," Vol. I, "Summary," IDA Log No. TS/HQ 67-127, Dec. 16, 1967 (TS), p. 1.
57. Ibid., pp. 3-7, emphasis in original.
58. Ibid., pp. 7-8, emphasis in original.
59. Ibid., p. 10, emphasis in original.
60. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Study of Alternative Bombing Strategies," 3 January 1968 (TS-SENSITIVE).
61. Ibid.

62. Alain Enthoven Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "The Economic Effects of Bombing North Vietnam," January 2, 1968, (TS), with enclosure.
63. OASD(SA) Economics & Mobility Forces paper, "The Bombing - Its Economic Costs and Benefits to North Vietnam," Jan. 2, 1968, (TS) attached to Alain Enthoven Memorandum, op. cit.
64. Ibid.
65. JCSM-567-67, 23 October 1967 (TS).
66. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 010156Z January 1968 (TS-IIMDIS).
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. COMUSMACV msg. to CINCPAC 02891, 260755Z January 1968 (S).
72. Background Information..., op. cit., pp. 268-269.

FOOTNOTES

1. Broadcast on radio Hanoi, 1 Jan. 1968, emphasis added.
2. Kraslow and Loory, op. cit. p. 229.
3. JCS msg. to CINCPAC 6402, 032158Z Jan. 1968 & 6700, 062148Z Jan. 1968.
4. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "New NVN Bombing Proposal," 16 Jan. 1968. (TS-SENS).
5. New York Times, Jan. 18, 1968.
6. Background Information ..., op. cit. p. 56.
7. Testimony of Secretary of Defense (Designate) Clark M. Clifford, before the Senate Committee on Armed Services, Jan. 25, 1968. Excerpt from published hearings, pp. 20-21.
8. JCSM-78-68, 3 Feb. 1968 (TS).
9. Ibid.
10. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Air Campaign Against North Vietnam (JCSM 78-68)," I-35128/68 (TS), 5 Feb. 1968.
11. Ibid.
12. Background Information..., op. cit. pp. 283-4.
13. Kraslow and Loory, op. cit., p. 232.
14. Background Information..., op. cit., pp. 57-58.
15. JCSM 91-68, 12 Feb. 1968 (TS).
16. JCS msg. 9926, 130218Z Feb. 1968 (TS).
17. "Report of Chairman, JCS on Vietnam Situation and MACV Force Requirements," 27 Feb. 1968 (TS).
18. CIA Memorandum, Subject: "Hanoi's Appraisal of its Strategic Position Prior to the Current Offensive," unnumbered, 27 Feb. 1968 (S), emphasis added.

19. The principle issue addressed in this re-evaluation was the level of forces to be sent to Vietnam to meet MACV requirements for augmentation resulting from TET. As such, the bulk of the papers drafted and considered in the Clifford Group dealt only tangentially with the air war. Since the problem of force deployments is treated in Task Force paper IV.C.6, no attempt will be made here to furnish the details of those papers. Only the sections dealing directly with the air war will be treated. The broad outline of the policy process, however, will be sketched to place the arguments about bombing policy into perspective.
20. Handwritten notes by Morton Halperin from conversation with Paul Warnke. (TS-EYES ONLY), no date.
21. Item in a package of materials sent to General Taylor and Mr. Warnke by William P. Bundy on Feb. 29, 1968 (TS-NODIS).
22. CIA Memorandum (unnumbered), Subject: "Communist Alternatives in Vietnam," 29 Feb. 1968 (S).
23. CIA Memorandum (unnumbered), Subject: "Questions Concerning the Situation in Vietnam," 1 March 1968 (S).
24. Ibid.
25. CIA Intelligence Memorandum, Subject: "International Communist Aid to North Vietnam," 2 March 1968 (S).
26. William P. Bundy Memorandum for Mr. Warnke, General Taylor, Feb. 29, 1968 with attached memo, subject: "Alternative Courses of Action," W.P. Bundy draft, Feb. 29, 1968 (TS-NODIS).
27. Ibid., attachment, "Probably Soviet Responses to Various U.S. Actions in Indochina -- Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia," (TS).
28. Ibid., attachment, "Probably Chinese Responses to Certain U.S. Courses of Action in Indochina -- Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia." (TS).
29. Memorandum signed "M.D.T.," Subject: "Viet-Nam Alternatives," undated but known to have been written sometime between Feb. 28 and March 3 with a copy sent to the President.
30. Ibid.
31. Draft Memorandum for the President, Subject: "An Alternative to the MACV Request," March 3, 1968 (TS-NODIS).

32. OASD/SA/Southeast Asia Programs, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 23 Feb. 1968 (S).
33. Draft Memorandum for the President, 4 March 1968 (TS-NODIS).
34. Ibid., Tab. E, "Negotiating Posture Options, and Possible Diplomatic Actions," (TS).
35. Ibid., Tab F, "Military Action Against North Vietnam," (TS-SENS)
36. Ibid., Tab F-1, "The Campaign Against North Vietnam," (TS-SENS)
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Clark Clifford Memorandum for General Wheeler, 5 March 1968 with attached "Draft Statement" and "Points" by Dean Rusk, 5 March 1968 (TS-SENS--EYES ONLY).
42. William P. Bundy Letter to the Honorable Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, March 8, 1968 (TS-NODIS).
43. Ibid.
44. Unsigned, undated Memorandum for the Director, CIA, in ISA files (TS), presumably not sent.
45. Secretary of the Air Force, Harold Brown, Memorandum for the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Subject: "SEA Alternative Strategies," 4 March 1968 (S).
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Kraslow and Loory, op. cit., p. 233.

52. New York Times, March 10, 1968.
53. New York Times, March 18, 1968.
54. New York Times, March 17, 1968
55. Unsigned Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Hanoi's Position on Settling the Conflict in Vietnam," March 11, 1968 (TS-SENS); the memo has "Dr. H" in the corner and was prepared by Halperin's Policy Planning Staff.
56. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, via the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Vietnam Negotiations," March 14, 1968 (TS-SENS).
57. Ibid., emphasis added.
58. Ibid.
59. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Subject: "North Vietnam Bombing Questions," 14 March 1968 (S); with the pencil notation, "not sent" at the top.
60. Draft Memorandum, Subject: "Vietnam Policy for the Next Six Months," 1st Draft/Dr. Halperin/16 March 68 (TS-SENS).
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "New Bombing Targets," 19 Mar. 1968 (TS-SENS).
64. Department of State Msg. 139431, 30 Mar. 1968 (TS-NODIS-LITERALLY EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE), emphasis added.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. White House Press Release, Mar. 31, 1968, "Remarks of the President to the Nation."
68. The Washington Post, Sept. 11, 1967.